

Message Text

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SUBJECT: VICE PRESIDENT PRESS CONFERENCE, VIENNA, MAY 20

REF: ADDIS ABABA 3277
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1. (BEGIN TRANSCRIPT)
WITH ME TODAY ARE THE MEMBERS OF OUR NEGOTIATING TEAM,
TONY LAKE, DIRECTOR OF POLICY PLANNING OF THE STATE
DEPARTMENT; AMBASSADOR DON MCHENRY; DAVID AARON, DEPUTY
DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL, AND BILL BOWDLER,
OUR AMBASSADOR TO THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA.
2. I HAVE BEEN MEETING WITH SOUTH AFRICAN MINISTER
VORSTER AND HIS GOVERNMENT AT THE REQUEST OF PRESIDENT
CARTER TO CONVEY THE NEW POLICIES OF OUR ADMINISTRATION

REGARDING SOUTHERN AFRICA, SPECIFICALLY RHODESIA, NAMIBIA, AND SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF. WE HAD A DAY AND A HALF OF VERY FRANK AND CANDID DISCUSSIONS. BOTH SIDES WERE AWARE BEFORE THE MEETINGS BEGAN OF POSSIBLE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES AND YET WE PURSUED THESE DISCUSSIONS IN A CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT IN ORDER TO IMPROVE THE POSSIBILITY OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND PROGRESS.

3. PUT MOST SIMPLY, THE POLICY WHICH THE PRESIDENT WISHED ME TO CONVEY WAS THAT THERE WAS NEED FOR PROGRESS ON ALL THREE ISSUES: MAJORITY RULE FOR RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA AND A PROGRESSIVE TRANSFORMATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY TO THE SWME END.

4. WE BELIEVED IT WAS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT TO CONVEY THE DEPTH OF OUR CONVICTIONS. THERE HAS BEEN A TRANSFORMATION IN AMERICAN SOCIETY OF WHICH WE ARE VERY PROUD. IT AFFECTS NOT ONLY OUR DOMESTIC LIFE, BUT OUR FOREIGN POLICY AS WELL. WE CANNOT ACCEPT, LET ALONE DEFEND, THE GOVERNMENTS THAT REJECT THE BASIC PRINCIPLE OF FULL HUMAN RIGHTS, ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY, AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION FOR ALL OF ITS PEOPLE REGARDLESS OF RACE. THIS BASIC MISSION WAS ACCOMPLISHED DURING THESE TALKS. I BELIEVE OUR POLICY IS CLEAR, AND I BELIEVE THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT NOW APPRECIATES THAT IT IS DEEPLY ROOTED IN AMERICAN EXPERIENCE AND VALUES.
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5. I DO NOT KNOW HOW OR WHETHER THIS WILL AFFECT THE DECISIONS THAT CONFRONT SOUTH AFRICA, PARTICULARLY IN REGARD TO ITS OWN SYSTEM, BUT I MADE IT CLEAR THAT WITHOUT EVIDENT PROGRESS THAT PROVIDES FULL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND AN END TO DISCRIMINATION, THE PRESS OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS WOULD REQUIRE US TO TAKE ACTIONS BASED ON OUR POLICY AND TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONS WE WOULD PREFER WITH SOUTH AFRICA.

6. AS FOR RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, I BELIEVE WE REGISTERED SOME USEFUL PROGRESS BUT THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS PROGRESS WILL DEPEND ON FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS. PRIME MINISTER VORSTER AGREED TO SUPPORT BRITISH-AMERICAN EFFORTS TO GET THE DIRECTLY INTERESTED PARTIES TO AGREE TO AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION AND THE NECESSARY TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS, INCLUDING THE HOLDING OF ELECTIONS IN WHICH ALL CAN TAKE PART EQUALLY SO THAT ZIMBABWE CAN ACHIEVE INDEPENDENCE.

7. LIKEWISE EVERY EFFORT WILL BE MADE TO BRING ABOUT A DE-ESCALATION OF VIOLENCE AND IT IS BELIEVED THAT THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS WILL BE THE BEST WAY TO ACHIEVE THIS END WE BELIEVE THIS IS AN ENCOURAGING STEP IN A POSITIVE DIRECTION. HOPEFULLY WE WILL WORK TOGETHER TO BRING THE INTERESTED PARTIES TO FIND A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT IN RHODESIA.

8. THE EXTENT TO WHICH THIS PAYS OFF WILL, OF COURSE, REMAIN TO BE SEEN AS WE PURSUE THE BRITISH INITIATIVE. IN THIS CONNECTION I MADE CLEAR OUR SUPPORT FOR THESE EFFORTS AND THE CLOSEST COLLABORATION WITH THEM. IN THIS CONNECTION I EXPLAINED THAT OUR CONCEPT OF THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND IS DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF THE PREVIOUS AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION. INSTEAD OF BEING A FUND AIMED AT BUYING OUT THE WHITE SETTLERS IN RHODESIA, WE WANT TO RE-ORIENT THAT FUND TO A DEVELOPMENT FUND, ONE WHICH WILL UNCLASSIFIED

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HELP BUILD A STRONG ECONOMY AND ONE THAT WILL ENCOURAGE THE CONTINUED PARTICIPATION OF THE WHITE POPULATION IN AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE.

9. I EMPHASIZED THAT THE U.S. WOULD SUPPORT A CONSTITUTION FOR ZIMBABWE THAT WOULD CONTAIN GUARANTEES OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS SUCH AS FREEDOM OF SPEECH, RELIGION, ASSEMBLAGE, DUE PROCESS OF LAW, AND AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY, AND THAT WE BELIEVE THESE ARE ESSENTIAL TO A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.

10. ON NAMIBIA, I MADE CLEAR THAT WE SUPPORTED THE EFFORTS OF THE SO-CALLED "CONTACT GROUP," WHICH CONSISTS OF THE UNITED STATES, WEST GERMANY, BRITAIN, FRANCE AND CANADA, IN THEIR EFFORTS TO IMPLEMENT SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385.

11. IN SOME RESPECTS, THE POSITION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AS REFLECTED IN THE EARLIER TALKS WAS ENCOURAGING. IN THOSE TALKS THEY AGREED TO FREE ELECTIONS TO BE HELD ON A NATION-WIDE BASIS FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WHICH WOULD DEVELOP A NATIONAL CONSTITUTION FOR AN INDEPENDANT NAMIBIA. THEY AGREED THAT ALL NAMIBIANS INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY COULD PARTICIPATE, INCLUDING SWAPO. THEY AGREED THAT THE U.N. COULD BE INVOLVED IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS TO ASSURE THAT IT WAS FAIR AND INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE.

12. HOWEVER, POTENTIALLY IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES OVER THE STRUCTURE AND CHARACTER OF THE INTERIM ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY THAT WOULD RUN NAMIBIA WHILE THIS PROCESS TAKES PLACE BECAME MUCH CLEARER IN THE PROCESS OF OUR TALKS. SOUTH AFRICA WANTS AN ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENT THAT DRAWS UPON THE STRUCTURE DEVELOPED AT THE TURNHALLE CONFERENCE.

13. THIS STRUCTURE IN THE CONFERENCE THAT PROPOSED IT IS UNCLASSIFIED

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BASED ON ETHNIC AND TRIBAL LINES AND AS IT STANDS T IS UNACCEPTABLE TO US. WE EMPHASIZE THAT ANY INTERIM ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENT MUST BE IMPARTIAL AS TO THE ULTIMATE STRUCTURE OF THE NAMIBIAN GOVERNMENT. MOREOVER, IT MUST BE BROADLY REPRESENTATIVE IN ORDER TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL NAMIBIANS AND TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

14. FOR HIS PART, MR. VORSTER FELT QUITE STRONGLY THAT ANY SUCH STRUCTURE WOULD BE BASED ON THE WORK OF THE TURNHALLE CONFERENCE. WE AGREED TO PROPOSE THAT THE FIVE-NATION CONTACT GROUP MEET WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT BEFORE THE END OF THE MONTH IN CAPETOWN AT A TIME TO

BE DETERMINED IF THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THAT GROUP AGREE TO HEAR SOUTH AFRICA'S VIEWS AND THE DETAILS OF THE PROPOSED INTERIM ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY, TO SEE IF AN IMPARTIAL BROADLY BASED AND INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE STRUCTURE CAN BE FOUND. WE HOPE THAT IT CAN BE.

15. IT IS MY VIEW THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN POSITION IN NAMIBIA IS INVOLVED IN A POSITIVE DIRECTION IN CERTAIN IMPORTANT RESPECTS. BUT UNLESS THIS LAST ISSUE CAN BE SATISFACTORILY RESOLVED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, FAIR FREE ELECTIONS WILL BE DIFFICULT IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE. I HOPE THAT THE MOST SERIOUS EFFORT WILL BE MADE TO FIND A SOLUTION THAT PROVIDES AN IMPARTIAL BROADLY REPRESENTATIVE AND INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE INTERIM AUTHORITY IN NAMIBIA.

16. I ALSO RAISED QUESTION OF POLITICAL PRISONERS WITH REGARD TO NAMIBIA. I SAID THAT THE U.S. BELIEVES THAT ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS SHOULD BE RELEASED. MR. VORSTER SAID HE BELIEVES THAT WHAT HE CALLED POLITICAL DETAINEES, SOME OF WHICH ARE HELD IN OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES, SHOULD BE RELEASED. HE SAID HE WOULD FAVORABLY CONSIDER OUR SUGGESTION THAT ALL NAMIBIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS BE TURNED UNCLASSIFIED

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OVER TO NAMIBIA AND THAT IN THE EVENT OF A DIFFERENCE IN VIEW OF WHETHER A PARTICULAR PRISONER WAS POLITICAL OR CRIMINAL A BODY OF INTERNATIONAL JURORS REVIEW THE CASE AND MAKE A DETERMINATION. THIS SUGGESTION WILL BE PURSUED AS WELL WHEN THE CONTACT GROUP MEETS IN CAPETOWN.

17. SOUTH AFRICAN PROSPECTS ARE MUCH LESS BRIGHT FOR PROGRESS TOWARD THE CHANGE OF COURSE WHICH WE BELIEVE IS ESSENTIAL TO PROVIDE JUSTICE, STABILITY AND PEACE IN THAT COUNTRY. WE HOPE THAT SOUTH AFRICA WILL CAREFULLY REVIEW THE IMPLICATIONS OF OUR POLICY AND THE CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH IT CREATES. WE HOPE THAT SOUTH AFRICANS WILL NOT RELY ON ANY ILLUSIONS THAT THE U.S. WILL IN THE END INTERVENE TO SAVE SOUTH AFRICA FROM THE POLICIES IT IS

PURSUING, FOR WE WILL NOT DO SO.

18. I THINK THE MESSAGE IS NOW CLEAR TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT

T. THEY KNOW THAT WE BELIEVE THAT PERPETUATING AN UNJUST SYSTEM IS THE SUREST INCENTIVE TO INCREASE SOVIET INFLUENCE AND EVEN RACIAL WAR, BUT QUITE APART FROM THAT IS UNJUSTIFIED ON ITS OWN GROUNDS. THEY KNOW THAT WE WILL NOT DEFEND SUCH A SYSTEM AND IN ALL HONESTY, HOWEVER, I DO NOT KNOW WHAT CONCLUSIONS THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WILL DRAW. IT IS MY HOPE THAT IT WILL LEAD TO A REASSESSMENT, TO A CHANGE OF COURSE WHICH ENABLES US TO BE HELPFUL AND SUPPORTIVE IN THE DIFFICULT TIMES THAT CHANGE INEVITABLY

ENTAILS.

19. BUT I CANNOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WILL NOT CHANGE, THAT OUR PATHS WILL DIVERGE AND OUR POLICIES COME INTO CONFLICT SHOULD THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT SO DECIDE. IN THAT EVENT WE WOULD TAKE STEPS TRUE TO OUR BELIEFS AND VALUES.

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20. WE HOPE TO BE ABLE TO SEE PROGRESS IN RHODESIA, NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA. BUT THE ALTERNATIVE IS REAL MUCH AS WE DISLIKE IT. FOR A FAILURE TO MAKE PROGRESS WILL LEAD TO A TRAGEDY OF HUMAN HISTORY. THANK YOU.

21. QUESTION: MR. VICE PRESIDENT, I WONDER IF YOU WOULD TELL US IF THESE TALKS WHICH APPEAR INDEED TO HAVE BEEN EXTREMELY TOUGH, WHAT THE ATMOSPHERE WAS, WHETHER IT WAS ACCRIMONIOUS OR WHETHER YOU COULD TELL US THAT IT REALLY WASN'T AS TOUGH AS IT SEEMED TO BE.

22. ANSWER: WE WERE VERY ANXIOUS, AS I INDICATED EARLIER, TO CONDUCT THESE TALKS IN A CONSTRUCTIVE ENVIRONMENT, IN A NON-CONFRONTATIONAL ENVIRONMENT. WE WERE ANXIOUS AT THE SAME TIME THAT THIS MEETING BE ONE IN WHICH WE COULD VERY CLEARLY DEFINE AMERICAN POLICY AND FURTHER MAKE CLEAR THE DEPTH AND THE PERMANENCE OF OUR COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS AS A CENTRAL ELEMENT IN OUR RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA, AND AS A POLICY GUIDING OUR AFFAIRS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

23. THE TALKS WERE CANDID AND THEY WERE FRANK AND I THINK THEY WERE NON-CONFRONTATIONAL. WE THINK THERE MAY BE SOME PROGRESS IN RHODESIA. WE THINK THE STATEMENT INDICATED TODAY INDICATES HOPE. WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT THE TALKS SURROUNDING THE DETAILS WHICH I MENTIONED IN NAMIBIA WILL PRODUCE RESULTS THAT ARE EFFECTIVE AND WILL PERMIT THE INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA WITHIN THE OUTLINE AND FRAMEWORK

ON U.N. RESOLUTION 385 AND THAT THE UPCOMING TALKS IN
CAPETOWN WILL BRING THAT RESULT ABOUT.

24. ON THE ISSUE OF SOUTH AFRICAN POLICIES, IT IS OUR
POSITION THAT SEPARATENESS AND APARTHEID ARE INHERENTLY
DISCRIMINATORY AND THAT THAT POLICY OF APARTHEID CANNOT BE
ACCEPTABLE TO US. WE ALSO ARE OF THE OPINION STRONGLY
HELD THAT FULL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY ALL THE CITIZENS
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OF SOUTH AFRICA -- EQUAL PARTICIPATION IN THE ELECTION OF
ITS NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AND ITS POLITICAL AFFAIRS -- IS
ESSENTIAL TO A HEALTHY, STABLE AND SECURE SOUTH AFRICA.
SOUTH AFRICANS TAKE THE VIEW THAT THEIR APARTHEID POLICIES
ARE NOT DISCRIMINATORY. THERE IS A BASIC AND FUNDAMENTAL

DISAGREEMENT. THEY TAKE THE POSITION THAT THEY HAVE DIF-
FERENT NATIONS WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA AND THAT THE FULL
PARTICIPATION THAT WE DISCUSSED IS IRRELEVANT.

25. THERE IS A FUNDAMENTAL AND A PROFOUND DISAGREEMENT AND
WHAT WE HAD HOPED TO DO IN THESE TALKS WAS TO MAKE IT CLEAR
TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN LEADERSHIP THE PROFOUND COMMITMENT
THAT MY NATION HAS TO HUMAN RIGHTS TO THE ELIMINATION OF
DISCRIMINATION AND TO FULL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND TO
EXPLAIN TO THEM HOW OUR NATION WENT THROUGH ESSENTIALLY
THE SAME DISPUTE AND THE ELIMINATION OF DISCRIMINATION AND
THE ACHIEVEMENT OF FULL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION HAS CON-
TRIBUTED ENORMOUSLY TO THE HEALTH, VITALITY, THE STABILITY,
THE ECONOMIC GROWTH, THE SOCIAL HEALTH AND THE SPIRITUAL
HEALTH OF OUR COUNTRY AND WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THOSE SAME
POLICIES WILL HAVE THE SAME EFFECT IN OTHER SOCIETIES.
THAT WAS THE NATURE OF THE DISCUSSION, IT WAS VERY FRANK, IT
WAS VERY CANDID.

26. QUESTION: MR. VICE PRESIDENT, WERE YOU AFRAID AT ANY
TIME THAT THE TALKS MIGHT BREAK DOWN?

27. ANSWER: NO, AT NO TIME. AS A MATTER OF FACT, THE
TALKS WENT ON LONGER THAN SCHEDULED. WE ADDED AN HOUR TO
THE DISCUSSION THIS MORNING, WE ADDED SOME EXTRA TIME
YESTERDAY, THERE WERE POINTS WHEN IT WAS QUITE DIFFICULT,
BUT THERE WAS NO POINT WHEN THERE WAS A BREAK-DOWN. AS A
MATTER OF FACT, THE BASIC CIVILITY OF THE MEETING WAS THERE
AT ALL TIMES.

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28. Q: WHAT STEPS WOULD YOU TAKE IN SOUTH AFRICA IF IT
DOESN'T GO ALONG WITH OUR POLICY?

29. A: THE PURPOSE OF THIS MEETING WAS NOT TO PROVIDE A LIST OF REMEDIES THAT THIS NATION, THAT IS THE UNITED STATES, MIGHT TAKE BY ITSELF OR IN COOPERATION WITH THE OTHERS THROUGH THE UNITED NATIONS OR IN OTHER WAYS, TO PURSUE ITS VALUES AS I HAVE DESCRIBED THEM, OF HUMAN RIGHTS. WE DID, HOWEVER, MAKE IT VERY CLEAR. FIRST OF ALL, WE HOPE THAT THERE WOULD BE PROGRESS IN THESE AREAS THAT WOULD PERMIT AN IMPROVED RELATIONSHIP. IN OTHER WORDS, OUR BASIC OBJECTIVE IS NOT TO HAVE A CONFRONTATION, BUT TO HAVE AN UNDERSTANDING THAT WILL LEAD TO PROGRESS AND THAT WE HOPE FOR IMPROVED RELATIONS.

30. WE ALSO SAID THAT THESE VALUES THAT WE HOLD, AND THESE OBJECTIVES FOR AN INDEPENDENT RHODESIA, WITH AN INDEPENDENT CONSTITUTION, WITH A FREELY ELECTED GOVERNMENT, AND A NAMIBIAN GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED UNDER THE GENERAL OUTLINES

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OF U.N. RESOLUTION 385 WITH A FREELY ELECTED GOVERNMENT, AND THE SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AS WE DESCRIBED IT, WERE IMPORTANT OBJECTIVES, CRUCIAL OBJECTIVES, AFFECTING THE RELATIONSHIP OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES. ANY PROGRESS WILL BE HELPFUL, BUT WE NEED PROGRESS IN ALL THREE CATEGORIES AND THE FAILURE TO ACHIEVE IT WILL LEAD TO SEVERAL ELEMENTS, WE THINK: INCREASING INSTABILITY, INCREASING VIOLENCE AND BITTERNESS, INCREASING OPPORTUNITY FOR INTERNATIONAL CAPRICE, AND A WORSENING OF U.S. RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA AND OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THAT GOVERNMENT AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITIES.

31. WE DID NOT GO INTO WHAT THOSE STEPS WOULD BE BECAUSE IT IS OUR HOPE THAT WE CAN HAVE PROGRESS AND THAT THAT WILL NOT BE NECESSARY AND THERE WILL BE OTHER OCCASIONS ON WHICH UNCLASSIFIED

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THAT POLICY IN THE CASE OF DETERIORATING RELATIONS WILL BE DESCRIBED.

32. Q: IN REGARD TO THE TRANSFORMATION OR PROGRESS THAT YOU SPEAK OF WITH SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF, HOW IS THAT TO BE MEASURED AND SPECIFICALLY, DID YOU SUGGEST OR OUTLINE ANY POSSIBLE THINGS THAT YOU WOULD LIKE TO SEE DONE THERE ON A STEP BY STEP BASIS OR ARE YOU LEAVING THIS TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS TO PONDER? AND THE SECOND PART OF THE QUESTION IS, DID THEY GIVE ANY SIGN DURING THESE TALKS THAT THEY WOULD POSSIBLY MODIFY SUCH ELEMENTS THAT WOULD PERMIT THE JOINT PARTICIPATION AND UNIFY SOUTH AFRICA POLITICALLY?

33. A: LET ME ANSWER THE LAST PART OF YOUR QUESTION FIRST: THE ANSWER WAS THAT THEY DID NOT INTEND TO DO SO. WHAT I SAID WAS THAT WE SEE TWO FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES AS ESSENTIAL:

THE ELIMINATION OF DISCRIMINATION, AND WE THINK APARTHEID IS DISCRIMINATORY, AND FULL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY ALL OF ITS CITIZENS ON AN EQUAL BASIS WERE ESSENTIAL TO THE TRANSFORMATION THAT WOULD BE THE PREREQUISITE TO A STABLE SOUTH AFRICA AND TO THE BEST POSSIBLE RELATIONS WITH THIS COUNTRY. WE ALSO TALKED ABOUT STEPS, BUT NOT IN DETAIL, BECAUSE WE DID NOT WANT TO GET INTO THE POSITION OF PRESCRIBING WHAT PARTICULAR STEPS THEY SHOULD BE TAKING. WE SAID ANY PROGRESS WOULD BE HELPFUL. FOR EXAMPLE, I SAID IF THE PASS LAWS WERE REPEALED SO THAT THE CITIZENS OF SOUTH AFRICA COULD TRAVEL IN AND AROUND SOUTH AFRICA AS THEY CHOSE, THAT WOULD BE HELPFUL. WE MENTIONED THE RETAINING OF POLITICAL DISSIDENTS, MRS. MANDELA, AND THE INTIMIDATION OF POLITICAL DISSIDENTS AS AN EXAMPLE. I DID NOT GET INTO A SPECIFIC LIST OF PARTICULAR LAWS AND SCHOOLS, THE SET-ASIDE OF CERTAIN JOBS, I FORGET THE EXACT NAME, THAT CAN ONLY BE HELD BY CERTAIN PEOPLE OF CERTAIN RACE. THERE IS A

LONG LIST THAT WE COULD GET INTO, BUT I DID NOT WANT TO DO THAT BECAUSE I WANTED TO GET THE EMPHASIS ON THE PRINCIPLES, UNCLASSIFIED

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THE LONG-TERM OBJECTIVES THAT WE SEE CRUCIAL TO FUNDAMENTAL REFORM IN SOUTH AFRICA.

34. Q: YOU POINTED OUT THAT APARTHEID AND FULL PARTICIPATION WERE TWO SEPARATE MATTERS. NOW YOU SAID THAT THE PRIME MINISTER OFFERED YOU NO HOPE ON FULL PARTICIPATION POLITICALLY. YOU SAID HE DID NOT WANT TO GET INTO DETAIL ON QUESTIONS OF APARTHEID. BUT DID HE TELL YOU THAT HE PLANS ANY PROGRESS AT ALL ON CERTAIN RACE DISCRIMINATION?

35. A: HE WILL BE HERE SHORTLY TO DESCRIBE HIS POSITION. HE WENT INTO SOME DETAIL ABOUT THE NUMBER OF BLACK AFRICANS WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA NOW GOING TO SCHOOL. THE INCOME OF SOUTH AFRICAN MINORITIES COMPARED TO THE INCOME ELSEWHERE IN AFRICA, THE MEETINGS THAT THEY HAVE HAD WITH CERTAIN BLACK LEADERS. ONE OF THE PROPOSALS I MADE IN RESPONSE, I SHOULD HAVE MADE THIS POINT TO THE EARLIER QUESTION, WAS THAT THEY SHOULD MEET EARLY WITH A BROAD RANGE OF THE LEGITIMATE NON-WHITE LEADERS OF SOUTH AFRICA TO HEAR FROM THEM AS TO THE PROCESS AND THE APPROACH AND THE STEPS TO BE TAKEN. HIS ANSWER TO THAT WAS THAT THEY HAD ALREADY HAD SUCH MEETINGS. BUT IT IS OUR OPINION THAT MANY OF THE LEGITIMATE LEADERS OF THE NON-WHITE COMMUNITY HAVE NOT ENGAGED IN SUCH A CONFERENCE, AND THAT SUCH A CONFERENCE WOULD BE VERY HELPFUL. THAT WAS THE NATURE OF THIS DISCUSSION, BUT I WOULD HAVE TO BE VERY CANDID, THAT ON THE ISSUE OF APARTHEID AND ON THE ISSUE OF FULL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE SENSE WE ARE TALKING, NAMELY, VOTING FOR THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, THEY WERE VERY VERY DIRECT IN ITS REJECTION.

36. Q: HE OFFERED YOU NOTHING NEW IN THE AREA OF POSITIVE PARTICIPATION?

37. A: HE TALKED GENERALLY ALONG THE LINES THAT I DISCUSSED.
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38. Q: IF THERE IS NO PROGRESS ON FULL PARTICIPATION, WOULD THAT PRODUCE THE DETERIORATION IN OUR RELATIONS THAT YOU HAD SPOKEN OF? EVEN IF THERE HAD BEEN SOME PROGRESS ON APARTHEID OR ON NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA?

39. A: WE SEE ALL THREE ISSUES OF BASIC IMPORTANCE. WE DON'T THINK PROGRESS ON ONE ISSUE EXCUSES NO PROGRESS ON ANOTHER. BUT ANY PROGRESS OF SIGNIFICANCE WILL BE APPRECIATED, WILL BE ABLE TO CREATE A HEALTHY, INDEPENDENT RHODESIA BASED ON MAJORITY RULE, THAT'S SOMETHING THAT IS

VERY IMPORTANT. IF WE ARE ABLE TO ACHIEVE THE OBJECTIVES OF AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF U.N. RESOLUTION 385, THAT'S A VERY IMPORTANT OBJECTIVE. IF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HELPS ACHIEVE THOSE OBJECTIVES THEY SHOULD BE COMMENDED FOR IT. IF THERE IS PROGRESS WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA TO REMOVE LAWS SUCH AS THE PASS LAWS, DISCRIMINATION LAWS, THESE JOB SET-ASIDE LAWS, LAWS TO PERMIT ACTIVE POLITICAL EXPRESSION WITHOUT INTIMIDATION, THOSE THINGS SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED AND APPRECIATED. BUT I THOUGHT IT WAS IMPORTANT, AND I BELIEVE IT TO BE FUNDAMENTAL, THAT THE BASIS OF THE PROBLEMS IN SOUTH AFRICA STEM FROM TWO FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES, DISCRIMINATION, AND THE ABSENCE OF FULL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION, RIGHTS AVAILABLE TO ALL THEIR CITIZENS.

40. Q: DID YOU COME TO AGREEMENT ON A TIME-TABLE ON THE INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA AND DID YOU COME TO AN AGREEMENT ON A SPECIFIC NEXT STEP ON RHODESIA AS YOU DID ON ZIMBABWE?

41. A: ON RHODESIA, AND I THINK I'LL READ THIS AGAIN IF I MIGHT BECAUSE IT SPELLS OUT THE TERMS OF OUR AGREEMENT: PRIME MINISTER VORSTER AGREED TO SUPPORT BRITISH-AMERICAN EFFORTS TO GET THE DIRECTLY INTERESTED PARTIES TO AGREE TO
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AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION AND THE NECESSARY TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS, INCLUDING THE HOLDING OF ELECTIONS IN WHICH ALL CAN TAKE PART EQUALLY, SO THAT ZIMBABWE CAN ACHIEVE INDEPENDENCE DURING 1978 AND PEACE. AND THEN IT GOES ON... IN OTHER WORDS, THE OBJECTIVE IN SUPPORT OF THE

OWEN MISSION IS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CONSTITUTION WHICH WILL PROVIDE FOR ELECTIONS AND INDEPENDENCE IN 1978.

42. Q: AND IN NAMIBIA?

43. A: IN NAMIBIA, THE ONLY SPECIFIC TIME FRAME AGREED ON THERE WAS THE PROSPECTIVE MEETING WITH THE CONTACT GROUP IN SOUTH AFRICA, HOPEFULLY BY THE END OF THIS MONTH, TO SEE IF WE CAN RESOLVE MOST PROBLEMS TO WHICH I MADE REFERENCE. IF THOSE PROBLEMS ARE SOLVED, THEN THE OTHER ELEMENTS OF A FREE ELECTION, NATIONAL ELECTION, IN WHICH ALL CAN PARTICIPATE, TO ESTABLISH A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY TO DEVELOP A CONSTITUTION WITH A U.N. PRESENCE, WILL BE IN PLACE AND I THINK THE PROSPECTS OF PEACEFUL TRANSFORMATION OF U.N. RESOLUTION 385 ARE VERY HOPEFUL, AND THE PROGRESS COULD COME QUITE QUICKLY. SO THERE IS AN ELEMENT OF HOPE HERE THAT -- IT ALL DEPENDS UPON THE SUCCESS IN RESOLVING WHAT COULD BE MAJOR DIFFERENCES OF THE KIND THAT I DISCUSSED IN MY EARLIER REMARKS.

44. Q: HAVE YOU SPECIFICALLY DISCUSSED THE POSSIBILITY OF WITHDRAWING SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS FROM NAMIBIA BEFORE THE COMING OF ELECTIONS IN THAT PART?

45. A: ONE OF THE MATTERS THAT WOULD BE DISCUSSED AT CAPETOWN IS THE PHASED WITHDRAWAL OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT INSTRUMENTALITIES WITHIN NAMIBIA. THERE IS NOT A SCHEDULE FOR THAT YET. IT WOULD BE HOPED THAT TERMS AND THE PHASING OF THAT PROCESS COULD BE MORE PARTICULARLY DISCUSSED AT THAT MEETING.

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46. Q: IS THERE ANY POSSIBILITY OF A FURTHER MEETING BETWEEN YOURSELF AND MR. VORSTER OR BETWEEN PRESIDENT CARTER AND MR. VORSTER?

47. A: WE HAVE NO PLANS FOR SUCH A MEETING.

48. Q: MR. VICE PRESIDENT, COULD YOU POSSIBLY GO INTO SLIGHTLY MORE DETAIL ON YOUR CONCEPT OF FULL PARTICIPATION AS OPPOSED TO ONE MAN ONE VOTE? DO YOU SEE SOME KIND OF A COMPROMISE?

49. A: NO, NO. IT'S THE SAME THING. EVERY CITIZEN SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO VOTE AND EVERY VOTE SHOULD BE EQUALLY WEIGHTED. THANK YOU VERY MUCH.(END TRANSCRIPT)
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Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 3e6ee888-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN AF
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 10
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: ADDIS ABABA 3277
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 31-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2346684
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: VICE PRESIDENT PRESS CONFERENCE, VIENNA, MAY 20
TAGS: SOPN, PFOR, US, XA, (MONDALE, WALTER)
To: DJIBOUTI GABORONE MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/3e6ee888-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009